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MORMONISM EXPOSED.

THE OTHER SIDE.

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF THE CASE,

BY

JAMES W. BARCLAY, ESQ.,

Member of the British Parliament.

COPIED FROM THE "NINETEENTH CENTURY," A MONTHLY
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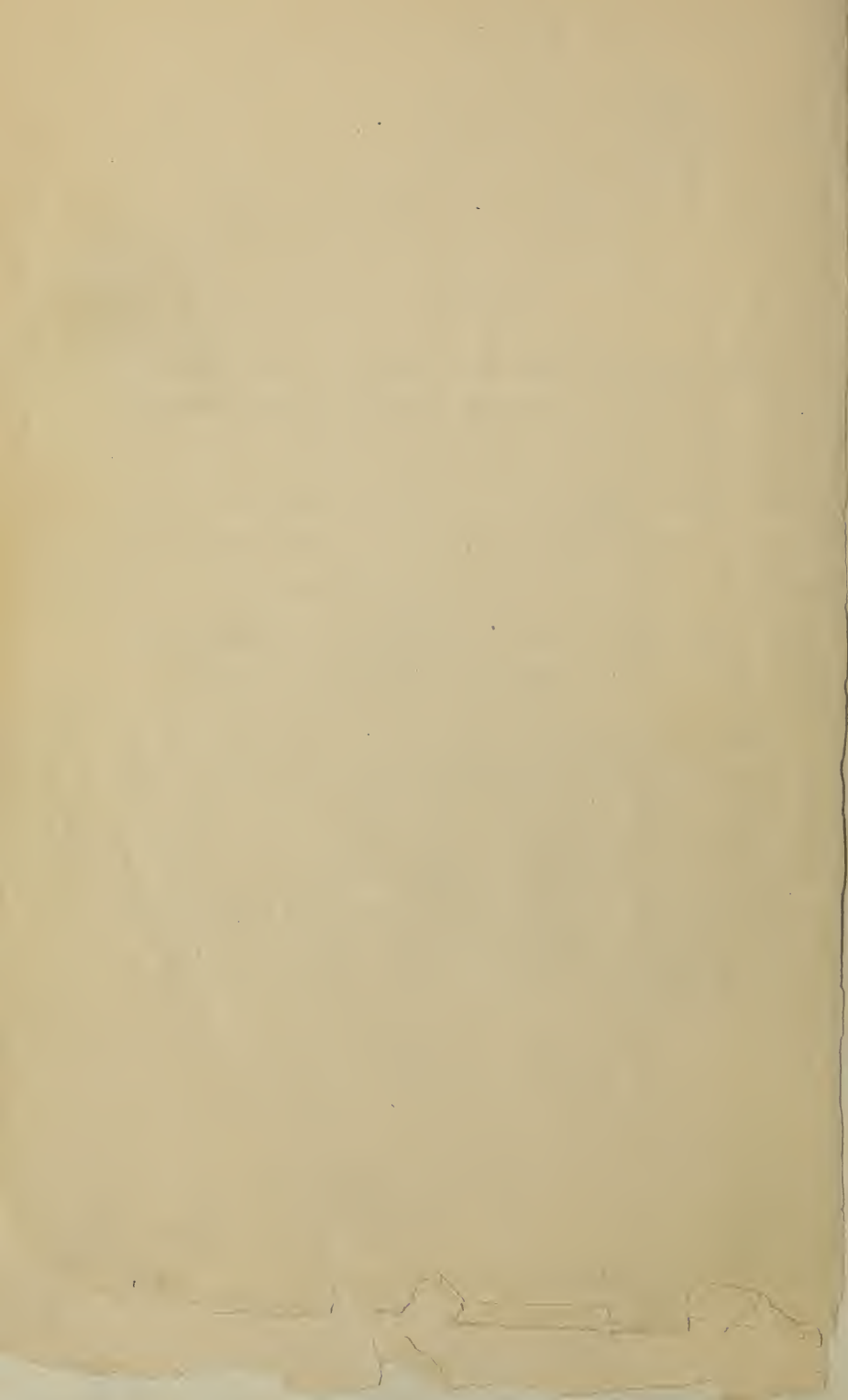
THE
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PRESS

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THE following article has appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, a magazine published monthly in London, England. Among the contributors to the number which contains this "New View of Mormonism" we find the names of Herbert Spencer, C. Magniac, M. P., Right Hon. G. Shaw Lefevre, M. P., Right Hon. Earl Cowper, Algernon Sidney, Sir C. Gavan Duffy, Right Hon. the Earl of Camperdown, Sir Henry Parkes, K. C. M. G., and Right Hon. Sir Richard Assheton Cross.

James W. Barclay, Esq., the author of the article, is himself a member of the British Parliament, and a man of high standing in his native land. This "New View of Mormonism" is the more interesting because it is that of an educated, traveled Englishman, who came to Utah, as he acknowledges, with strong prejudices against the system he here reviews.



A NEW VIEW OF MORMONISM.

UTAH and its inhabitants have been the theme of so many writers, that I should have hesitated to add to their number had not a recent visit to Salt Lake City greatly modified my previous ideas respecting the Mormon community. So much, indeed, do my impressions from meeting the Mormons themselves, and seeing what they have done, differ from those which are generally entertained, that I venture to submit what may be called "A New View of Mormonism."

Before dealing with Utah and the Mormons, as I found them, it will be of advantage to relate briefly the early history of Mormonism.

According to the Mormon belief, the Lord appeared to Joseph Smith, then fourteen years of age, at Manchester, State of New York, in the year 1820.

Seven years later an angel delivered to him certain metal plates, whereon was engraved, in "reformed Egyptian characters," the Book of Mormon, which had been hid in the earth fourteen hundred years. With the plates were found two transparent stones, and, by their help, Joseph Smith translated the "reformed Egyptian characters" into English, based evidently on the style of the Old Testament Chronicles. The book professes to be an inspired record of God's dealings with the ancient inhabitants of America, and rather laborious reading it makes.

It may be as well here to observe that the Mormons accept the Old and New Testament as fully as Christians do, and that, except as regards polygamy, there is nothing in the

5

Book of Mormon or the Revelations of Joseph Smith, the two books on which Mormonism is founded, at variance with the generally accepted doctrines of Christianity. Respecting polygamy, the Mormon Confession of Faith merely declares "That marriage, whether monogamic or polygamic, is honorable in all, when such marriage is contracted and carried out in accordance with the law of God."

But to return to the early history of Mormonism. In 1829 John the Baptist, and shortly afterwards the Apostles Peter, James, and John, appeared to Joseph Smith and a devoted follower, Oliver Cowdery, and consecrated them to the Priesthoods of Aaron and Melchizedek.

The church was first organized at Seneca, New York, in 1830, and the following year the professors of the new creed—or rather the believers in Joseph Smith, for there is little new in the creed—made a settlement in Missouri.

The new sect—Latter-day Saints they called themselves—increased, and, notwithstanding the hostility of their neighbors, appear to have flourished. After being driven from place to place in Missouri, they were finally expelled from that State in 1838, and took refuge in Illinois, where they founded a town named "Commerce."

The people of Illinois treated the Saints no better than did the Missourians. Disturbances and popular tumults from time to time broke out, and notwithstanding the intervention of the State authorities, ostensibly in their protection, a mob with blackened faces killed Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, and his brother; and John Taylor, now President of the Saints, narrowly escaped with his life.

To Joseph Smith succeeded Brigham Young, who, till his death in 1877, was the ruling and guiding spirit of the Mormon community.

In consequence of continued persecutions, Brigham Young resolved to lead his people beyond the reach of their persecutors into a new Canaan. The promised land lay west-

ward beyond the great desert plains, amid the recesses of the Rocky Mountains. There, like the chosen people of old, they would be safe from their enemies.

In 1846, the Mormon emigrants had reached Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, when, in compliance with a call by the Federal government, they sent a battalion of 500 men to join the U. S. army in the war with Mexico then going on.

By the spring of the following year preparations had been completed for the march through the wilderness, and Brigham Young, with 143 chosen followers, started in search of the new Canaan. Later in the season the main body, with a train of 700 wagons, followed the pioneers across the great plains and the Rocky Mountains to Utah, a distance of over 1,000 miles, through a country probably as little known as were the deserts of Arabia in the time of the Jews, and in the face of enemies as fierce and bloodthirsty as those encountered by the Israelites in their march from Egypt to the promised land.

The journey of the emigrants was certainly of a very remarkable character, and its success, and the prosperity which has attended the Mormon colony, prove that Brigham Young, their leader, was a man of great personal character, endowed with extraordinary sagacity and organizing faculty, and that his followers possessed in no small degree several, at least, of the qualities which go to the making of nations. It is so easy nowadays to follow the emigrant track by railway from Omaha, and to visit Salt Lake City in a luxurious Pullman car, that it is hardly possible to realize the difficulty of transporting, providing with sustenance, and protecting thousands of men, women, and children, during that long and difficult journey. At that time the great plains west of the Missouri were a desert, unvisited save by the trapper or fur trader, who, in prosecuting his daring occupation, carried his life in his hands; and the whole country along the route was infested by tribes of fierce and bloodthirsty Indians, to whom

the plunder of the emigrant train offered the greatest temptation.

On leaving the banks of the Missouri, the emigrants cut themselves off from the rest of the world, and marched into what was then, and, for many years afterwards, a wilderness.

The Mormon hunter would no doubt provide buffalo and antelope flesh, and the cows in the emigrant train give a scanty supply of milk, but water was sometimes not to be had for many miles, and cereals had to be taken with them sufficient not only for food on the journey, but for twelve months afterwards, until the seed sown in the following spring came to maturity. Should Mormonism ever produce its poet, he will not want materials for an epic in the march of the Latter-day Saints to their promised land.

After a weary journey of eight months the emigrants reached the valley of the Great Salt Lake, and pitched their camp at the mouth of a ravine, or canyon, where Salt Lake City now stands.

The Saints had now gained their promised land. What promise of being a Canaan to them did it offer?

The valley of Salt Lake is 5,000 to 6,000 feet above sea-level, about 200 miles long north and south, and of irregular width, varying from 20 to 50 miles. On the east side the Wasatch range, and on the west the Oquirrh Mountains, rise abruptly, bare, rugged, and precipitous. To the north the valley is closed in by the mountain ranges, and southwards it rises up to the tableland of Arizona.

Twenty miles south of Salt Lake City is Lake Utah, a beautiful sheet of pure water, and from it northwards through the valley flows a considerable stream, called the Jordan, to the Great Salt Lake, which, without any outlet, fills the bottom of the basin.

The water of the Salt Lake contains about seventeen per cent. of solid matter, chiefly common salt, and is extremely bitter. Its height has varied as much in the last thirty years

as nine feet, rising and falling irregularly. At one time the whole valley had been an inland sea, and the old margins are visible along the mountain sides. One level at which the lake had stood for a long period is 800 feet above the present lake, but as the same margin varies 200 to 300 feet in height, changes have taken place in the level of the land as well as of the water. The lake lies nearly 20 miles northwest of Salt Lake City, and is much frequented in summer by bathers, for whose accommodation the Mormons have built a railway.

The cultivated land, cultivable only by irrigation, is chiefly along the base of the Wasatch Mountains. Outside the irrigated area the ground has a shiny surface, due to excess of alkaline matter, and grows little but stunted sage-brush and grease-wood.

The new Canaan was anything but a land of promise, and must have presented a most desolate and uninviting appearance.

The United States surveyors had declared the country to be a hopeless alkaline desert, where cereals could not possibly grow, and the few trappers who had visited the locality gave equally discouraging reports. Lieut. Sherman's party, in surveying the shores of the Salt Lake in 1850, nearly perished on more than one occasion for want of fresh water.

It must have sorely tried the faith of the Saints in their leader to believe that this could be a land of promise, or a Canaan in which they could even exist. And yet enthusiastic Latter-day Saints would have little difficulty in drawing a parallel between themselves and the chosen people of old. Like the Israelites, they had left a country of persecution; they had crossed in safety a trackless desert; they had been miraculously preserved in the midst of many dangers and supported through numberless privations; and now they had come into a land which curiously enough possessed several remarkable geographical features common to Judæa. There in the valley, southwards from the new Zion, Lake Utah

represented the Sea of Galilee, and, flowing northwards from it, a stream which they named the Jordan emptied itself into the Great Salt Lake, a Dead Sea of bitter water. The land was arid, and pure water valuable as in the Eastern desert. The site selected for the new Zion was surrounded like Jerusalem by mountains, and the Indians sufficiently represented the Philistines, so long a thorn in the side of the Israelites. Strengthened, no doubt, by such reflections in the belief that they were the chosen people of the latter days, the Saints commenced the unpromising task of establishing themselves in the new Canaan. Many troubles and difficulties threatened the very existence of the young community. Hosts of locusts, coming none knew whence, devoured the crops. The distance from civilization and the difficulties of transport were so great that it was almost impracticable to import food, even if money could be had to buy it, and at times starvation seemed imminent. The locusts, however, happily disappeared; and the community slowly increased in numbers. The Indians were troublesome, but Brigham Young declared it was cheaper to feed than to fight them, and acting on that policy never came to actual rupture with his unwelcome neighbors.

In 1857 serious trouble arose with the government of the United States, due to what has since been admitted were false and slanderous reports. President Buchanan despatched an army to Utah to assert the authority of the central government, which it was said had been defied. The troops were unable to reach Utah in 1857, and the Mormons, uncertain of the intentions of the government, made preparations to abandon their possessions in Utah and remove to Mexico. Arrangements were made for cutting the irrigation canals and burning the homesteads. Many of the Saints had actually left their homes and moved southwards, and only the influence of Brigham Young prevented his followers from leaving the country before the arrival of the troops. Matters were,

however, adjusted before spring. The army entered Utah peacefully, and established a post overlooking Salt Lake City, which is still occupied by a detachment of United States troops. Here, again, the Mormons claim that by divine interposition, the army which came to destroy helped materially to build up the struggling colony. The influx of money from the United States treasury, to pay and maintain the troops, provided means to obtain many comforts and necessities of which the community stood greatly in need, and from the arrival of the troops the Mormons date their prosperity. By the opening of the Union Pacific Railway in 1870, Utah was connected with the outside world, and the development of the country has since made rapid progress. In 1877, Brigham Young died, and the Mormons lost the Prophet, Priest and President, under whose rule Salt Lake Valley had been transformed from a desolate, uninhabited wilderness to a richly cultivated and fertile land, the home of a prosperous, contented community of over 100,000 souls.

The transformation in Utah since its settlement by the Mormons is truly wonderful. The traveller to Salt Lake City, by any of the railways, has ample opportunity of contrasting the country in its virgin state with the Mormon settlements, and may thus realize the change that has taken place. Salt Lake City is the finest town of its size in the Western States. Instead of the bare, comfortless appearance of many new American towns, a large part of Salt Lake City is embowered in gardens and orchards. Rows of trees both shade and beautify the streets, and the houses have an air of comfort and look of home too frequently wanting in new settlements. Looking southwards from the higher grounds of the city, a chain of villages and hamlets extends along the base of the Wasatch range. At the mouth of every gorge, where a mountain stream struggles out on the plain, the church and school-house of a village peep through the green foliage of the surrounding trees and orchards. Farther out on the plain

each homestead is surrounded by its grove of trees, an acceptable patch of green in the brown and arid landscape.

Trees, orchards and cultivation are all due to irrigation. Formerly no grain could be produced without irrigation, but of recent years, whether due to increased humidity of the climate, improved skill or acclimatization of the seed, dry land cultivation, as it is called, has made some progress. To produce these results, thousands of miles (10,000 it is said) of irrigating canals have been built. Four large canals on different levels conduct the waters of Lake Utah through the valley below, and every mountain stream has been seized as it emerged from its canyon, and led over the thirsty saline ground. So far as I am aware, the cultivation of arid alkaline soils, by means of irrigation, was introduced by the Mormons in Utah, and as the existence of the colony depended on the first crop coming to maturity, the discovery could not have been the result of experiments on a small scale.

I did not learn who inspired the idea of irrigation, but the circumstances attending the adoption of the system in Utah are in several respects very remarkable. The necessity for irrigation is twofold. Not only must water be applied on account of the dryness of the climate, but part at least of the excess of alkaline matter in the land must be washed out by water percolating through the soil, before anything save the coarsest herbage will grow.

The adoption of the system of irrigation is another instance of the ability and skill displayed in the colonization of Utah.

Besides what they have done in reclaiming land, the Mormons, under Brigham Young, built 400 miles of the Union Pacific Railway and 600 miles of the first transcontinental telegraph line. They have also constructed over 500 miles of local railroads, and 1,500 miles of telegraphs, without subsidies of any kind.

Neither is Utah without its manufactures. Besides flour

and sawmills, woollen, boot and shoe, and harness factories, and the like, have been established, and the minerals exported exceed in value a million and a half sterling. With the exception of mining and smelting, in which few Mormons engage, almost every public enterprise is in their hands, and they are almost exclusively the cultivators of the soil.

The total area under grain of all kinds is about 120,000 acres, and the produce about two and a half million quarters, besides some ten thousand acres in fruit, principally apples, peaches and grapes. The farms in Utah are small, averaging twenty-five acres each, and the holdings, of which there are about 10,000, are cultivated by the owner and his family. The value of improved land, with the right to water for its irrigation, is 25 to 100 dollars per acre, but the public land without water may be had for 5s. (\$1.25) per acre, or even less.

Mormon homesteads have a tidier appearance than is usual in the West, and the general air of comfort and prosperity which prevails is the best evidence of the persevering, industrious habits of the people.

The co-operative store established by Brigham Young in 1868 is a prominent feature in Mormon economy. It is a joint-stock company, and pays a handsome dividend to its shareholders, who may be Gentiles. The holding of each shareholder is limited to twenty *l.* (\$5) shares. The co-operative store was organized not for the purpose of superseding individual traders, but to meet what was then frequently a crying evil. On account of the distance from the centres of supply and the scarcity of money, stocks of certain articles would occasionally run short, and those who happened to have a supply demanded exorbitant prices. The result has been highly satisfactory, and "Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution" imports, it is said, one-third of all the merchandise which comes into the Territory. ✓

There is nothing peculiar in the Mormon creed to account for the great influence which Mormonism exercises

among its followers. Its doctrines do not differ essentially from those of other Christians, and with the exception of polygamy its morality is that of the New Testament.

(The success of Mormonism and its steady progress must therefore be due either to the manner in which Mormons carry into practice the religion they profess, or to its organization. In my opinion the results are due to two influences. First, there is no religious caste or class. From the President downwards, the office-bearers of the Church are selected by the voice of the Mormon community; they require no special qualification, and no one receives any salary or other emolument; the missionaries despatched to all parts of the world do not receive even travelling expenses. And, in the second place, Mormonism interests itself as much in the temporal as in the spiritual concerns of its members: Church and State are, in short, identical.)

(The Mormon community is an enlarged family, bound together by privileges and duties, one principal duty being to care for the helpless and the needy. At the same time, every individual has full freedom of action. There is no compulsion on any Mormon beyond the public opinion of his fellows, and none is possible.) Apostasy even does not appear to be attended with serious consequences to the apostate's material interests. Some of the largest merchants in Salt Lake City have apostatised from the Church, and although the population of Utah is about nine-tenths Mormon, their business seems to prosper as before.

(According to the Mormon doctrines, it is the duty of members "to pay first a tenth of their property, and afterwards a tenth of their increase or income, for the advancement of the work of God.")

By the census of 1880, there were in Utah 6,988 apostate Mormons, among whom were some of the wealthiest and most well-to-do members of the body.) Possibly growth in wealth may influence opinion on the tithe doctrines, and

money may prove a stumbling-block even to Latter-day Saints. The tithe is devoted to three principal objects: the relief of the poor and assisting the needy, the building of the Temple, and in subsidizing immigration.

(The office-bearers of the Church are numerous. Next in authority to the First Presidency, with its three members, are the Twelve Apostles; then follow the Councils of Seventy, of Elders, composed of ninety-six members, of Priests forty-eight, of Teachers twenty-four, of Deacons twelve.)

The First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles rule the whole Church; but Utah is divided into twenty-two "Stakes of Zion," each having its Councils of Seventy, of Elders, of Priests, of Teachers and of Deacons. Each "Stake" is further divided into wards, presided over by a Bishop and two Counsellors. As there are seventy-six Councils of Seventy with their sub-officers, and two hundred and eighty Bishops' wards, almost every member of any consequence or position must be an office-bearer of the Church.

All are elected annually; the President and other principal office-bearers at one of the semi-annual conferences at Salt Lake City, when the names are submitted to the assembled Church. Missionaries are nominated at the same meetings. Such members as the heads of the Church consider suitable are publicly called upon to go forth, and, as I was informed, it rarely happens that any one selected fails to respond to the call. The missionary goes without salary, and without even travelling expenses. If he has no means of his own, he must work his way to the field appointed for him, and there by his own industry support himself while he prosecutes his mission, usually from one to two years.)

Missionaries are despatched to all quarters of the globe, and as results of their labor 2,000 or 3,000 Mormon immigrants annually arrive in Utah. Immigrants, as a rule, must pay a least a portion of the cost of the journey, and many save for years to accumulate a sufficient sum to take them to

the modern "Zion." An obligation to repay the outlay on their behalf when able to do so is taken from those assisted. The chief emigration office for Europe is in Liverpool. According to the census of 1880, 99,969 of the population of Utah were born in the United States, and 43,994 were foreign. England, Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Norway, Switzerland, Canada, and the German Empire contributed in the order named to the foreign population, England furnishing nearly one-half; but of late years I understand that the proportion of Scandinavian and German immigrants has greatly increased.

There are many Mormon churches in Utah, and any office-bearer may officiate.

I was present in the Tabernacle at the semi-annual conference in October last, when perhaps 10,000 were present from all parts of the Territory. The service commenced with music from the great organ, followed by prayer and addresses by the two Counsellors. The first, George Q. Cannon, formerly delegate to Congress from Utah Territory, dealt chiefly with the history of the Church and its persecutions, and exhorted the Saints to patience and confidence in Divine protection. The other, Joseph F. Smith, exhorted to faith in Mormonism, courageously declaring that his belief did not depend on the authority of the Church, but on its internal evidence. Perhaps a tenth of the congregation consisted of babies in arms, who, during the discourses, maintained a continuous sub-chorus of wailing, and only when a baby asserted a marked predominance over its fellows did the mother consider it necessary to retire till the outburst was spent.

The Tabernacle is a large elliptical building 250 feet long by 150 feet wide, with a dish-cover roof, supported by circular girders resting on piers about 15 feet high. The girders are constructed entirely of wood, without iron bolt or nail. Iron was a scarce and valuable commodity in Utah at the time the Tabernacle was built. The building stands as

true to-day as when erected twenty years ago, and reflects no small credit on Brigham Young's engineering skill and on Mormon workmanship.

Near the Tabernacle stands the Temple, which has been in progress for thirty years, and will require four more for completion. It is a large building of hewn stone, 200 by 100 feet, imposing only by its size.

(It is not easy to discover the grounds of the hostility—I might say antipathy—towards the Mormons manifested by Americans in the Eastern States. The farther distant from Utah the greater the *animus*. Even before polygamy was practised, which I understand was not till the settlement in Utah, the Latter-day Saints were the victims of active and violent persecution. >

Stories are related of attacks by the Mormons on emigrant trains to California in the early days, and of deeds of bloodshed, but such stories have not, so far as I am aware, been fully authenticated.

During the last five-and-twenty years, since the Union Pacific Railway was opened, and reports could be easily verified, neither the United States Government nor their neighbors have any grounds for complaint against them; at least anti-Mormons could not refer me to anything definite. On the contrary, the people of the United States are indebted to Brigham Young and the Mormons for the assistance they rendered in constructing the railway and telegraph lines over a very difficult portion of the route.

The exalted ideas respecting women entertained by Americans generally may partly explain their aversion to the Mormons as identified with polygamy, and the mere assertion that the Mormons are not law-abiding citizens—polygamy being the only ground for the accusation—tells strongly with a people that make their own laws. But I apprehend that the animosity to Mormonism is principally due to the efforts of the host of hungry office-seekers who would find lucrative

posts in Utah were the Mormons disfranchised, and by the missionaries from the Eastern States who come to turn the Mormons from the error of their ways, and whose income depends on the strength of the feelings they can excite in their supporters. Utah is still a Territory, and, as such, its Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Marshal, and other officials of the Federal Government, are nominated by the President of the United States, and are of course non-Mormons; but the municipal and other local officials are elected by the Mormons.

If the Mormons could be disfranchised in a body, 500 lucrative posts in Utah would be open to Gentile office-seekers. According to the legislation which might be adopted, the offices would be filled either by the President of the United States or by the small minority of Gentiles in Utah.

Attempts have been made in Congress to disfranchise Mormon electors, and in 1882 a measure, called the Edmunds Bill, was passed, disqualifying all Mormons who had more than one wife, and a commission was appointed to enforce the law.

Prosecutions had previously been instituted against leading Mormons for bigamy, but Mormon juries would not convict, and when a jury of Gentiles was somehow impanelled, evidence sufficient to convict could not be had.

(The Mormon marriage ceremony is strictly secret, although it has been divulged by apostate Mormons, and when the wives were put in the witness-box they went to prison rather than declare the paternity of their children. The Edmunds Commission proceeded to work vigorously, and disfranchised some 16,000 electors; but the monogamist Mormons left constituted an overwhelming majority. The declaration of the poll is, however, in the hands of the Governor, and in a good many cases Gentiles have been declared elected. Governor Murray actually went so far as to give a certificate of election as Delegate to Congress to the candidate

who had only 1,357 votes against 18,568 polled by his Mormon opponent, but the bogus certificate was rejected by Congress.

Meanwhile the Mormons, and able lawyers in the East whom they have consulted, contend that the Edmunds Bill is contrary to the Constitution of the United States, and a test case is now on its way to the Supreme Court; but in the United States the law's delay is perhaps greater even than at home.

In 1882 the people of Utah resolved to petition Congress for admission to the Union as a State, and seventy-two delegates from the different counties unanimously agreed, after nine days' session, to a constitution for the new State, should the petition be granted.

The constitution so prepared was subsequently submitted to the people, with the result that 27,814 votes were cast in its favor, and 498 against its adoption. The numbers may be held to represent the voting strength of the Mormons and non-Mormons respectively.

Congress refused the application, and Utah is still under the general law of the United States a Territory.

(A few extracts from the constitution adopted by the Mormons will conveniently show their opinions on political, religious and social questions.

It is provided that the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience shall never be infringed; that no interference with liberty of conscience shall be permitted; that no religious test or property qualification shall be required for any office of public trust, or vote at an election, and that no person shall be incompetent to testify on account of religious belief.

Every citizen of the age of twenty-one shall be entitled to vote at all State elections.

All legislation regarding education shall be impartial, guaranteeing to all persons of every race, color, and religion, equal rights and privileges.

No religious sect or denomination shall ever control or appropriate to its own use any of the public, school, or university funds of the State.

It ought to be gratifying to the advocates of women's rights that at present women in Utah, married or single, have votes and are eligible for office. Under the proposed constitution, women may not only vote, but may be elected members of the Senate or House of Representatives, and are only disqualified as judges or jurors, and as members of the executive government.)

The government of Utah by the Mormons might be accepted as a pattern by many other States in the Union.

In no other State or Territory are the taxes so moderate.

There is no bonded debt in the Territory except 35,000*l*. (\$175,000) of bonds, issued by Salt Lake City to build an irrigating canal from the Jordan.

The city owns its own water-works, constructed at a cost of 40,000*l*. (\$200,000), as well as 16,000*l*. (\$80,000), about a third, of the stock of the gas company, all paid for out of revenue.

The Mormons have proved themselves eminently capable of self government, and it is with regret I observe that President Arthur, in his recent address, recommends Congress to withdraw constitutional rights from the inhabitants of Utah, and to substitute a government from Washington, apparently similar to that of our crown colonies by the Colonial Office.

I refuse to anticipate that Congress will give ear to any such proposal. The treatment of the Mormons by the people of the United States is already a blot on the fair fame of the greatest republic the world has seen, and I firmly believe that, if the citizens of the United States could only visit Utah, investigate and judge for themselves, there are very few who would not be ashamed of what has taken place in Utah under their authority.

No Mormon suggests the idea of resistance by force, what-

ever steps the United States government may take. The Mormon leaders are too wise to enter upon other than passive resistance, and Governor Murray presumes much on the ignorance and prejudices of the Eastern States when he asks for additional troops.

The citizens of the United States would, I think, do well calmly to ask themselves what ground of complaint they have against the Mormons. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the head and front of their offence is plurality of wives, and that is the sole offence. The practice is undoubtedly hostile to public interests, and ought to be visited with the penalties usually attached to bigamy where no deception has been practised; but the treatment of the Mormons by Congress and the government is unworthy of the United States. I fully endorse the recommendation of ex-Secretary McCullough, that besides sending the Mormons good judges and honest officials, "the Federal government should leave them severely alone, for there is no danger of there being a political or social disturbance."

It is quite unnecessary to get angry over polygamy, or to take unconstitutional measures for its suppression. The practice could only have been introduced under such special circumstances as existed when the Mormons settled in Utah, and perhaps the drafting of 500 men to form the Mexican battalion from the small community at Council Bluffs may have had something to do with its origin. When the exceptional circumstances disappeared, and Salt Lake City was united with the rest of the world by railways and telegraphs, polygamy was doomed. Woman's nature is not different in Utah from what it is elsewhere, and with votes and perfect freedom, it is not to be supposed that anything short of necessity will induce woman to be content with less than the exclusive right to a husband. It is absurd to suppose that any compulsion can be exercised over any woman, whether native born or immigrant. According to the census of 1880,

the males in Utah exceed the females by seven per cent., and women are in too great demand in the west to be under any necessity of acting against their inclination. Very ordinary domestic servants get 5*l.* (\$25) to 6*l.* (\$30) per month, and unfortunate bachelors have not unfrequently to take one or two children along with a widow housekeeper. There are many rabid anti-Mormons in Salt Lake City, including a daily newspaper, who are only too anxious to find anything against Mormons or Mormonism, and any case of oppression or harsh treatment would be eagerly proclaimed. Again, polygamy as practised by the Mormons must prove an expensive, if not troublesome, luxury. The following is the Mormon view of marriage as stated by George Q. Cannon, one of the President's counselors, and formerly Delegate to Congress. He says:

There is an impression among the uninformed that the man who enters into patriarchal marriage in Utah has but little, if any, responsibility connected with it; that upon his partners rest all the burdens and unpleasant features of the relationship; that they, in becoming his wives, become the creatures of his will, and that, therefore, their civil rights are interfered with. This view is wholly incorrect. It is the women, under the system of patriarchal marriage, who have liberty, and not the men. When once marriage has taken place between the parties, be the woman ever so poor or friendless, ever so much an unprotected stranger in the land, the man who knows her takes upon him a life-long obligation to care for her and the fruit of their union. For a man to seek for a divorce is almost unheard of, the liberty upon this point rests with the woman; and, as regards a separation, if her position should become irksome, or distasteful to her even, and she should desire a separation, not only is the man bound to respect the expressal of her wish to that effect, but he is bound also to give her and her offspring a proportionate share of his whole property. They are no longer under his yoke; but while he and they live, they have a claim upon him from which he is never completely absolved.

Surely it must be religion which prompts the Latter-day Saints to incur such serious responsibilities at the risk of being pronounced felons, and being stripped of property and citizenship by being incarcerated in the penitentiary.

The influx of visitors and the ideas of the outer world

introduced by the opening of railway communication have no doubt very much influenced the ideas of Mormon men, and particularly of Mormon women, on the subject of polygamy, and it is said that many polygamists have of recent years, while maintaining all their wives and families, restricted their marital relations to one. It is quite possible that public opinion among the Mormons themselves is nearly ripe for some authoritative declaration by the Church, or revelation, that under the new circumstances polygamy is unnecessary and inexpedient.

To Mormons brought up in Utah in the old days, polygamy supported by the Old Testament examples may have seemed natural enough, and whatever their opinions may now be, it is not easy to see how the ties once formed are to be broken without causing more harm than good. The Mormons advocate polygamy as a duty. They point to the excess of females in the Eastern States, to the greater waste of male life than of female, to the evils of prostitution so prevalent in old communities, and for that matter also in young, and to the prevalence of marital infidelity in other communities.

A reason of another kind was given me by a well educated, gentlemanly Mormon of sixty, with two wives. "You cannot," said he, "take your money, your railway, or your mining stocks into the next world with you; but our marriage is not only for life but for eternity, and we shall have our wives and our children with us, and so make a good start in the world to come." The remark certainly said much for this gentleman's experience of polygamy.

It is not easy to ascertain closely the extent to which polygamy prevails, the number of wives or of children. The Mormons are not at all reticent on their affairs, but the action of the United States Government may induce caution on the subject of polygamy. Probably the proportion of polygamists does not exceed a third or at most a half of the married males.

The Edmunds Commission disqualified 16,000 to 18,000 voters; but wives living in polygamy were equally disqualified with the husband.

It is a mistake to suppose that there are no educated Mormon women. Some of them indeed have written with ability in defence of polygamy, although rather with the pen of the fanatic than the heart of the woman. I met several Mormon ladies, married and single, well-educated, sensible women. The wives, it seemed to me by their manner, were not unconscious of the obloquy attached to their position in the outer world. The young ladies appeared as free and independent as in other parts of the States; and, if I might hazard an opinion, the young men of Mormondom will find considerable difficulty in persuading them to be content with the share of a husband.

(The Mormons, as a people, are tolerant, temperate, peaceable, and industrious.) Temperance is in some cases carried to the extreme of abstinence from alcohol of all kinds, tobacco, and tea. Before the Federal Government exercised so much authority as now, drinking saloons and other establishments of vice were prohibited; and, although a few professing Mormons keep drinking saloons, they are held in disgrace.

Hostile Gentiles living in Salt Lake City, of whom I inquired the grounds of their hostility to the Mormons, referred only to polygamy and exaction of the tithe, to which, however, they do not contribute. They admitted that the Mormon people were honest, straightforward, and fulfilled their contracts fairly, although they seemed to think it was not easy to get the better of a Mormon in a bargain.

The men of position I met compared favorably with the same class in the Eastern States. I was much impressed by their ability, courtesy, and general intelligence. They have a quiet, self-reliant, gentlemanly bearing, without self-assertion; and, speaking from my own experience and that of others,

they welcome strangers, and show visitors every attention in their power.

(The humbler classes—the peasants of Utah—have generally the appearance of a life spent in toil, acquired no doubt in many cases before coming to Utah. But, in truth, the pioneers who subdue the savage earth, have a rather hard and monotonous life; and, however good a husband may be, the wife, in attending unaided to household and maternal duties, must bear her full share of the common burden. Hard labor, combined with exposure in a dry climate, makes Western men and women look prematurely old and worn; and, although the Mormon peasant women may be plain, I am not aware that they differ materially in looks from the same class in other Western States.

(In morality, as far as shown by statistics, the Mormons greatly excel the Gentiles in their midst, and the general population of the States.) In the winter of 1881, a census was taken of the prisoners in Utah, with the following result:—In the City prison were twenty-nine convicts, and in the County prison six convicts, all non-Mormons. In the penitentiary, out of fifty-one prisoners only five were Mormons, two of whom were there for polygamy; and of 125 prisoners in the lock-ups, eleven were Mormons, some for polygamy.

The arrests in Salt Lake City from the 1st of January to the 8th of December, 1881, were classified as follows:

Mormons:				Non-Mormons:			
Men and boys,	-	-	163	Men and boys,	-	-	657
Women,	-	-	6	Women,	-	-	194
Total,	-	-	<u>169</u>	Total,	-	-	<u>851</u>

Of the population of Salt Lake City, about 75 per cent. is Mormon, and 25 per cent. non-Mormon. Of the suicides in Utah, over 90 per cent., and of the homicides and infanticides 80 per cent., are committed by the 17 per cent. of non-Mormons.

These figures conclusively prove that the Mormons are a sober, law-abiding people, and singularly free from the grosser forms of vice, whatever may be alleged to the contrary by ignorant or prejudiced enemies. Of the 200 saloons, billiard, bowling alley, and pool-table keepers, not a dozen even profess Mormonism, and from all I could learn, the following trenchant extract from a Mormon publication in 1878 may not be far from the truth:

Out of the twenty counties of the Territory, most of which are populous, thirteen are, to-day, without a dram shop, brewery, gambling or brothel house, bowling or billiard saloon, lawyer, doctor, parson, beggar politician or place hunter, and almost entirely free from social troubles of every kind; yet these counties are exclusively "Mormon;" and with the exception of a now and then domestic doctor or lawyer, the entire Territory was free from these adjuncts of civilization (?) till after the advent of the professing Christian elements, boastingly here to "regenerate the Mormons," and to-day every single disreputable concern in Utah is run and fostered by the very same Christian (?) element. Oaths, imprecations, blasphemies, invectives, expletives, blackguardism, the ordinary dialect of the "anti-Mormon," were not heard in Utah till after his advent, nor, till then, did we have litigation, drunkenness, harlotry, political and judicial deviltries, gambling and kindred enormities.

(During their struggle for existence, the Mormons were unable to do much for education, but of late years praiseworthy efforts have been made to complete their educational system.) Even now the people of Utah are certainly not less educated than in the States generally. According to the census of 1880—the figures are from a Gentile source—the proportion of the population over ten years of age who could not write was, in the *white* population of the United States, 6.96 per cent., and in Utah 5.71 per cent. The school age is from six to eighteen, and the school population in 1881 was 42,353, with an average daily attendance of 44 per cent. The number of schools in 1879 was 373; in 1880, 374; and in 1881, 395. The Mormon Legislature levies a general school tax,

equal to from 4d. to 6d. per £ on the annual value of all real estate, and each county may impose a tax to supplement any deficiency. In addition to the primary schools, the Legislature established the University of Deseret, the Brigham Young Academy at Provo for training teachers, and the Brigham Young Academy at Logan for young ladies. The Mormons, in short, are probably doing quite as much for education as the States generally.

Mormonism, apart from polygamy, which seems to me a temporary excrescence, will, in my opinion, grow, and probably be the religion of the settlers or farming classes in the mountainous country between the great plains east of the Rocky Mountains and California on the west. In those districts, irrigation is almost everywhere necessary for cultivation, and, with the scarcity of capital, irrigation works must be executed by co-operation among the settlers. The experience of the Mormons in irrigation and co-operation, coupled with their self-reliant and frugal habits, enables them to surmount difficulties from which outsiders shrink, and their sober and temperate habits specially qualify them for pastoral pursuits, either on their own account or as tenders of the herds and flocks on large ranches, for which only a very large portion of the country is suitable.

Already colonies of Mormons are established in Arizona, New Mexico, Idaho, and the mountains of Colorado. These colonies are periodically visited by officials of the Church, whose duty it is, besides ministering to spiritual wants, to give the struggling community the benefit of their experience in their temporal concerns.

Mormonism indeed appears to me practically a socialistic organization. Without any theorizing, the Mormons have gone to work and realized a practical Socialism—if by Socialism is meant a community where every individual enjoys the full benefit of his labor, and must labor to live; where the weak are not trampled under foot in the struggle, and where

the really unfortunate in the battle of life are cared for by the community.

Among the Mormons all are equal. It is the duty of every man from the President downwards to labor for his living. There is no special or privileged class or caste. The people in the fullest sense govern themselves, and every man is eligible for any office in Church and State. The only difference between individuals is in their inherent qualities and capabilities.

They have no property in common, but the tithe collected by the Church is sufficient to provide for the wants of the helpless poor, and to assist the widow and the unfortunate to regain a position of self-supporting independence. The bishop of his ward instructs the immigrant in the system of irrigation—new to most of them—in the best kind of house to build, and how to make themselves comfortable in their new homes. For the benefit of all, new plants, seeds, and implements are introduced, and any new system of cultivation is investigated. Among a people so organized, every individual feels himself member of the community, possessed of certain privileges with their corresponding duties, and a general family feeling pervades the whole body. Certain it is that, whatever the causes may be, there is among the Latter-day Saints a mutual feeling of helpfulness and trust, and whatever Gentiles may say, the sentiments towards the heads of the community are respect, confidence, and I might say affection. I had the pleasure of traveling for some days in the company of a Mormon Elder, a gentleman of great ability, intelligence and courtesy, and I was much struck by the evident cordiality of his reception by his co-religionists, as well as by his genuine kindness, without any tinge of condescension towards his humbler brethren. There was on both sides an evident feeling of perfect equality combined with respect and affection. It is the same with the President. So far as I observed and could learn, President Taylor is regarded with greater respect

by the Mormons than is the President of the United States by its citizens, and at the same time his office is open to all, and he is prepared to hear what the humblest Mormon has to say.

There are many interesting questions connected with polygamy, but more particularly with the social organization of the Mormons, which I had not sufficient time to investigate. What I have written will, I hope, serve to attract a closer study. Let me say, in conclusion, that I went to Utah prejudiced against the Mormons, but after seeing and investigating for myself, I came to the conclusion that, apart from polygamy, there is much in the Mormon organization to admire and respect, and that the Mormons are the subjects of a greater amount of misrepresentation and unjust abuse than any other community with which I am acquainted.

JAMES W. BARCLAY.

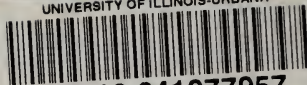
POSTSCRIPT.

Since the foregoing was in type, I have seen a report, in the New York *Herald* of the 28th of November, of an interview between the reporter of that journal and Governor Eli H. Murray, the Chief Magistrate of the Territory of Utah. Governor Murray lays comparatively little stress on the polygamic difficulty; his gravest apprehensions are as to the formation of what he calls "a hierarchy within a republic." He apprehends serious mischief from the strict obedience of the Mormons to their Church, that is their social organization, and declares that, "in fact, to pay tithes, to live regularly, and obey the priesthood, are the three cardinal principles inbred in the Mormon mind. The consequence is that these tithes and taxes are paid with an amazing regularity, which, if followed in some other places I might mention, would make very considerable difference in the disposition of civic burdens." Further, he admits that the United States courts are fully recognized; and "if any person, no matter who, high or low, breaks the law, and declines to recognize the authority of

the Court, he will be treated by the officers of the Court precisely as under similar circumstances he would be here" (New York). The sum of Governor Murray's whole case against the Mormon people is, that they are too obedient to the rulers of the Mormon Church, and as he thinks that the growth of this loyalty is dangerous to the commonwealth, he advises that the Legislature should be abolished, the Organic Act repealed, and a territorial council appointed to govern Utah by Commission; in other words, he recommends that the Constitution of the United States should be violated in order to punish the Mormon people, whose "three cardinal principles are, to pay tithes, to live regularly, and to obey the priesthood."

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